

443 Local Agricultural Products - Processed

438 Farinha de mandioca (manioc flour)
Rapadura (crude sugar)
Requeijão (country cheese)
 Hand-made cigars.

Non-Local Agricultural ProductsAzete de dendê (palm oil)RiceCharque (dried beef)SpicesFumo em corda (rope tobacco)Animals:Especially draft animals from the sertão

Leather.

Non-Agricultural ProductsFood - dried fishExtractive products:

Charcoal, honey, vegetable waxes

Farm equipment:

Bridles, saddles, agricultural implements--hoes, knives, etc.

Clothing:

Sandals, shoes, shirts, and trousers

Pottery and kitchen utensils

Miscellaneous cheap jewelry, plastic and wood products,
patent medicines, cigarettes, straw mats, etc.

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Those products of local agriculture which are not marketed through

the feira or through specialized agencies are sold to the vendas (smallgeneral stores). In distinction to the feiras, which are confined tothe villages and urban centers, vendas are found even in rural areas.These vendas are privately owned stores which sell staple foods,

machetes and hoes, seed, household utensils, and a few simple luxury

items, such as soap, candy, cigarettes, cigars, soft drinks, and

alcoholic beverages. As would be expected, the vendas away from the

urban centers carry but a limited stock of goods. There is usually a

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continuing credit arrangement between the shopkeeper and the agricul-

turalist; most of the harvest of basic crops is pledged in advance

against the debts of the cultivator, and frequently the crop is pledged

even before it is planted. In many cases the shopkeeper is the agent

for the tobacco buyer, in whose name the necessary credit is advanced.

443 Many shopkeepers are also land owners, and their tenants as a matter
 452 of course are also their customers and their debtors. The livestock
 427 raised by the agriculturalist may be sold on the hoof at the feira
 or taken to the matadouro municipal (municipal slaughter house). The
 meat is sold either at the slaughter house or at the feira.

In the larger centers the market tends to last throughout the
 week. In the medium-sized centers there are a few offerings each
 morning, and often there is a small feira in the middle of the week.
 Some major cities, such as Cachoeira, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro,
 and Salvador, have source areas larger than their municípios. For
 489 example, the market at Feira de Santana invariably draws scores of
 494 trucks, each laden with people and produce, from places as distant as
 Cruz das Almas, Ipirá, Serrinha, and Santo Amaro. The most important
 general market in the Recôncavo is the Saturday feira at Água de Meninos
 505 in Salvador. This market is located on the low-lying tidal flats
 beside the Bay, and many of the agricultural products which are sold

489 here are brought by sailing boats. Trucks, carts, streetcars, trains,
 494 and pack animals are also used to transport produce to this market.

It is here that a very large portion of Salvador's population purchases
 the agricultural products of the Recôncavo. This market is also the
 source of supply of the street vendors who hawk fruits and vegetables
 through the streets of the city. Salvador also has a smaller central
 market—the Mercado Modelo—and a number of minor neighborhood markets
 which usually are open for part of each day.

442 The campo de gado (cattle fair) at Feira de Santana is the only
 443 important specialized public market in the Recôncavo; and, as has been
 233 seen, it plays a very critical role in the agricultural economy of the
 region and of the state. On Monday mornings thousands of cattle change
 hands in the pens and weighing compounds at this fair.¹ Because the

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[191] their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brasil.

249 The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure--the agent.
442 With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to
438 the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers
• 452 via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants
455 a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by means of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
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455 The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15-kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
236 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
438 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation
442 the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades
the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and
texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less
carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The
poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping,
the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until trans-
port can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar
factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced
439 in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of
the total crop of the state was exported.² However, the exported leaf
is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely
grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least
four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during
this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes
70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the
tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total
exports of all products from Brazil.³

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end
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Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguaçu in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

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The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is

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produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco

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is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

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231 surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases,
233 economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of
crop cultivation.

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43 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization
443 of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of
BB the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit
(249) essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the country-
(452) side, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent
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(249) to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly,
the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its
products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for
the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products
which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador
are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the
sertão.

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241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo
are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and
the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems.
Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil,
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(464) is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant,
and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at
mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in
the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property--latifundia--
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(423) and the class organization with which it is associated are important
(565) in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers
of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts
of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon
the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

who walks about with a huge round basket on his head crying, 444
"Pão, pão." 256

Dona Carmen's husband, Damião, is also a storekeeper. 441
His store is in the downhill part of town, near the fishermen. 463
The two stores are run separately, and the couple are doing (444)
well financially. In addition to his store, Damião also owns (427)
several canoes and fish nets which he rents to fishermen. He (452)
is the only storekeeper in town who gives credit to people who (426)
cannot pay immediately, allowing bills to run many months
and even more than a year. He also allows his customers to
borrow money in order to buy things outside his store--for
instance fish, which he does not handle. He does not charge
interest on these loans, nor seemingly make any demands on
those who borrow. On the other hand the borrowers feel a sort
of loyalty toward him and do not forget their debts, which they
eventually manage to pay.

Three of the smallest stores are owned and operated by 441
women, whose husbands have set them up in business in a 444
small way in order, as one put it, to "give my wife something 463
to do." It is considered desirable for a woman to operate a (562)
store and it is usually the beginning of something larger, for
later, whenever possible, the husband will stop his own work
and help operate the store. In the case of the smaller stores
the owner generally lives in the same building, either along-
side the store or behind it. The larger storekeepers, however,
usually have separate houses. At night they lock up the stores, (431)
which are sometimes guarded by dogs or even by the cashiers (66)
who sleep there. The storekeepers are usually asked for do-
nations to the church at the time of any special festivals, and
generally become politically active after they become estab-
lished in business.

The stock in most of the stores is pretty much the same, 443
varying in amount rather than diversity: drinks (rum and soft
drinks), dried meat (the staple meat of the population), ce-
reals, cigars, cigarettes, estivas (which include beans, rice,
and farina, the three great staples of the local diet), as well
as coffee, palm oil (azeite de dendê), vinegar, olive oil, gar-
lic, onions, wooden sandals, condensed and powdered milk,
salt, sugar, miudezas (small items such as matches and rib-
bons), toilet articles and laundry soaps, blueing agents and
starch, grass mats, kerosene, and in one store aluminum
kitchenware which is not sold very often, as well as nails,
wire, screws, and wrapping paper and cord. One store in the

VILA RECÔNCAVO

change. New faces and basically different relationships prevail at Usina São Pedro.

Another change, but this time in tune with the past, was an increase of capital, applied to the improvement of the factory. The capacity of the mill has been greatly enlarged. However, the agricultural part of the combination continues as it did before, with no innovations. The result is that the factory is able to mill and produce sugar much more quickly than it can be supplied with sugar cane. The hierarchical aspect of the factory as earlier diagrammed remains the same, and each plantation is still run as a separate unit.

In contrast, the private plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo has undergone relatively little change in these five years. Always the most conservative element in the Recôncavo, the private plantation continues to retain its distinguishing feature: the personal, face-to-face, paternalistic owner-worker relations. The hierarchical pattern remains the same. Operations are still basically hand- and animal-powered, but private planters are slowly introducing mechanization in certain aspects of the process, especially that of transportation; trucks and tractor-drawn wagons carry cane from the fields to the factory. Tractors and mechanical plows are used to an increasingly large extent in the preparation of the soil, and mechanical cultivators are already in use on some plantations. However, the bulk of the work is still done by hand, and traction is supplied by oxen and mules. As yet no mechanical loaders, ditch-diggers, or planters have appeared, and little use is made of fertilization or herbicides. Few scientific agricultural practices are in use. The planter is still first and foremost a "practical" man.

Relations between the factory and the private plantations have also undergone considerable change, in both business and social aspects. The new managers of the factory have succeeded in almost completely alienating the private planters who supply them with sugar cane. Not only the members of the extended Conde family, but also other cane suppliers resented the highhanded, brusque methods of the new managers. Wishing to break completely with the past, the new managers instituted several new policies in relations with the cane suppliers. Formerly the private suppliers bought sugar by the sack, bought their supplies at the company store, and had their machines repaired at the company workshops, paying for such services at the end of the harvest season. The sup-

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* 249 pliers were presented with accounts showing how much cane had been sent to the mill, the price, how much the factory had paid the bank on the supplier's loans, how much had been advanced the supplier for his cane, and how much was still owed the supplier, discounting the costs of services received from the factory facilities. This has been traditional practice, not only at Usina São Pedro, but also at the other factories of the area. Now, however, Usina São Pedro expects to receive cash at the moment of the transaction for each such service the supplier receives. In addition, the factory has gradually cut down on the number of services it offers the suppliers.

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This has been particularly serious regarding services of the mechanics, as the private suppliers have no other source of repair for their machines except in the city; taking them into the city costs a great deal of time and is more expensive than were the services performed by the factory mechanics.

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The new managers at first charged an automatic discount upon the cane tonnage supplied by each private plantation. This resulted in a considerable loss of money at the end of the year for each private supplier, thereby straining even more the relations which daily were becoming more and more disagreeable. Any question of scale and tonnage is a touchy one for private planters, who sell their cane by the weight. The discount charged on general principle by the factory was so serious a matter that several of the private suppliers united and called the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol to their defense and succeeded in correcting the situation. This was a "first" for Usina São Pedro, where such a thing had never before happened, and where such a recourse is considered an extreme.

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Social relationships between the private planters and the managers of the factory are almost nonexistent. Whereas a few years ago the factory was the central gathering point for the social life of the planters of the area, it is now a place to be avoided. In addition to making working conditions difficult, the new managers and their families are "outsiders" in this small, closed plantation society, with different backgrounds and manners. As a result of the new conditions, the private planters are spending more time on their plantations than before, but their social life rotates from one plantation to another, skipping the factory nucleus. This pattern is also reflected in the activities of the resident workers, who are upset at the treatment shown to the older employees of the fac-

tory and its fields, and who are slowly drifting away from visiting the factory nucleus.

An overall result of the new conditions between private planters and the factory is a desire on the part of the suppliers of São Pedro to become independent of this outlet. Several of the suppliers are shifting their cane to other neighboring factories, when this is convenient. Most of them are seriously considering shifting to another crop, as will be described below; in fact a goodly proportion of land has already been taken out of sugar-cane production, thus diminishing future cane harvests and endangering the cane supply of Usina São Pedro.

What was formerly a peaceful, "all in the family," almost preservelike area has become an area of tensions and of poor business, and social, relations. The situation has all the possibilities of a traditional sugar-cane kind of land capture. The factory needs land in order to produce more cane so that the mill can operate at capacity. No one is willing to sell to the factory, nor even to supply as much cane as he might under other conditions. But the private planters are dependent upon the factory, economically and for services. Therefore it is an easy matter for the factory to make difficulties for the individual planter, even gradually forcing him into failure, since the planter operates on credit and has little latitude for even a single crop failure. Such a failure gives the factory an opportunity to acquire badly needed lands at a bargain.

The sugar industry in the community of Vila Recôncavo has also undergone changes in the labor aspects, in line with the entire industry. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, the price of the sugar cane and the sugar is artificially regulated, and has been rising slowly over a period of years. However, nationwide social legislation in the past three years has raised the wages of the workers annually, before the price increases were granted by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. Spiraling inflation has also helped raise all the costs, of labor, of materials, and of machinery. Whereas prices for the task done have always been fairly well regulated, they have recently become a very strong issue, and there is much worker discontent. The planter, whether private or corporate, is more than ever interested in holding down the costs of his labor supply, since other costs, particularly of machinery and repairs, are soaring, always narrowing the margin between the total cost of production and the established selling price.

position of the sugar industry in Vila Recôncavo, is creating considerable interest on the part of the community's planters. Just as sugar cane is limited by soil and climatic conditions, so also is the cacao. There is little fear, therefore, of competition from many other areas. In addition, cacao is exportable, while the sugar of the area is for internal consumption only.

In spite of the attraction of this new crop, there are a number of problems which must be dealt with. First, the details of a change from sugar cane to cacao must be worked out, especially as regards space and financing. The planter must juggle his sugar plantings, pastures, and rotation lands so that he can slowly take out land for preparation for cacao. If he wants to finance the changeover himself, he cannot lessen his sugar production; in fact, he needs more money than before. Banks in general lend on the forthcoming crop; if the crop is reduced, so is the amount which can be borrowed. However, to overcome this, the Institute of Cacao of Bahia is preparing a financing program on a long-term basis. Sugar cane is a perennial, planted one year, bearing for the next three or four years, then ploughed under and replanted. Cacao, on the other hand, is a permanent tree crop which gives its first fruit in five years, reaches maturity in fifteen or twenty years, and then continues to produce annually for sixty to one hundred years. Thus sugar cane is financed on a one-year basis, while initial plantings of cacao must be financed on a long-term basis of ten to fifteen years. The change from a perennial crop to a permanent crop also requires a totally different mental set on the part of the planter.

Cacao is a "forest crop," which means that it requires shading. Under primitive conditions it is planted in dense tropical forest. In Vila Recôncavo, however, the former tropical forest has been entirely cleared away during the last four hundred years, since sugar cane tolerates no shade. Therefore, before the cacao can be planted, shade must be provided. This is done by planting banana trees and, at fixed intervals, single seedlings of a precocious, long-living, high-growing shade tree. To pay for the work involved it is common to plant manioc between the banana trees. The manioc is gathered the following year, and shortly thereafter the young cacao trees can be planted. The banana trees offer sufficient shade for the young plants. For a period of five or six years the planter

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[SALVADOR]

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- A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant, owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The ownership of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.
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- A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.
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